

29 The contemporary cruise tourist experience

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Abstract

Taking a socio-cultural perspective, this chapter deconstructs the nature of experience for cruise tourists in relation to the materiality of space and the unique characteristics of vacationing at sea. Defining 'the cruise experience' is challenging since there is no single experience but rather a myriad of experiences depending upon the individual and the type of cruise selected. Moreover, the word experience can be conceptualized and understood in different ways depending upon the approach adopted and the disciplinary focus. Given these complexities, a holistic approach to the nature of experience is adopted focusing on three overarching themes: 1) architecture and the materiality of cruise ship space (including the architecture of technology), 2) embodiment, architecture, and experience, and 3) the floating community as heterotopia. Although the cruise experience reaches beyond the physical boundaries of the ship, the discussion necessarily focuses on the onboard experience within the segment of the market serviced by mega vessels where innovations in shipbuilding have radically altered the nature of the cruise experience. The chapter reveals how the controlling hand of architecture and the enchantment of technology construct an embodied experience based on being part of an interdependent floating community. This experience is shaped by a different understanding of and relationship with time and where the sense of freedom associated with being on a cruise is to an extent a mirage. Overall, the chapter provides a more nuanced understanding of experience as it relates to cruise tourists by highlighting the fluid and relational nature of experience.

Introduction

Taking a socio-cultural perspective, this chapter deconstructs the nature of experience for cruise tourists in relation to the spatial context and unique characteristics of vacationing at sea. Attempting to define a contemporary cruise tourist experience is challenging, particularly in the context of an industry characterized by product proliferation, design innovation, and an increasingly diverse customer base. Hence, there is no single tourist experience but, rather, a myriad of experiences depending upon the individual, the type of cruise selected and the approach adopted. Moreover, the word experience itself can be conceptualized and understood in different ways depending upon the disciplinary focus. For example, anthropology, philosophy, and management all have extensive bodies of literature exploring the meaning of or the

management of experience across a range of situations and cultural contexts, including the context of tourism (see Andrews, 2009; Davey, 2016; Richards, 2001; Sharpley & Stone, 2012; Turner & Bruner, 1986). Terzidou, Scarles, and Saunders' (2017: 117) analysis of experience; in relation to pilgrimage tourism, offers a useful illustration of the approach to experience adopted here when they argue that the pilgrimage experience is a complex '... series of performances where movements intertwine with religious prescriptions, embodied spaces of production and consumption, inter-subjective interactions and material encounters in tourist spaces...'.

Given the above, this chapter adopts a holistic approach to the nature of experience by focusing on selected overarching themes, as follows: architecture and the materiality of cruise ship space (including the architecture of technology); the body; and the cruise community. This focus moves the discussion away from a socio-economic understanding of experience exemplified by the 'experience economy' approach (Klingman, 2007; Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Richards, 2001) and beyond the cruise experience in terms of business, management, and operational aspects such as service delivery, customer satisfaction, and initiatives to maximize on board revenue (see Huang & Hsu, 2010; Petrick, 2004; Weaver, 2005a). In doing so, the discussion provides an alternative and a more nuanced understanding of experience as it relates to cruise tourists.

While acknowledging that the cruise experience reaches beyond the physical boundaries of the ship, this chapter focuses on the onboard experience in relation to the spatial characteristics of cruise ships. Clearly, onshore activities are a significant part of the cruise experience, as is the relationship between the ship and the sea; however, a detailed consideration of these aspects falls beyond the scope of this chapter (see Andriotis & Agiomirgianakis 2010; Bennett, 2016; Jaakson, 2004a; Lester, 2011; Weaver, 2014). Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad comprising spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space), and representational space (lived space) is a useful starting point for a focus on architecture, cruise ship space, and experience. For Lefebvre, the experience of space emerges out of the dynamic relationship between these three elements. In particular, representational space is space as conceived and created by professionals and technical experts such as architects, urban planners, engineers, and designers. Contemporary cruise ships are examples of such spaces being the product of technological advancements that have enabled architects and engineers to design and build huge spatial structures capable of accommodating thousands of passengers. The representational cruise ship space created by architects and designers is inhabited or, more precisely, embodied,

by people – by thinking, feeling bodies. Once embodied by a cruise ship community, the built environment, what Tuan (1977) refers to as architectural space, plays a fundamental role in creating the social roles and structures that influence how individuals and communities behave. Architectural space reveals, instructs, and articulates the social order (Tuan, 1977) and, as such, the architectural space of a cruise ship plays a significant role in creating, mediating, and controlling the cruise tourist experience. It is a constituting partner in the architecture of experience.

Appreciating the relationship between spatial developments and innovations in ship building and experience(s), the focus here acknowledges the segment of the market serviced by modern mega vessels. These exceed 100,000 gross registered tonnage and offer a significant increase in spatial capacities than other cruise vessels preceding the contemporary era of passenger ship building (Lunn, 2009). Such ships illustrate technological innovations in shipbuilding and exemplify the concept of a ship as ‘floating cities’ (Lunn 2009), a ‘floating resort’ or ‘marine resort’ (UNWTO, 2010). Given this focus, the following section provides a brief overview of the spatial characteristics and developments in passenger ship building in the context of such mega ships. Thereafter, the chapter addresses the relationship between embodiment and experience in the context of cruise ship architecture with the third and final section focusing on experience as it relates to the concept of an onboard community.

Cruise ship space and the architecture of experience

Architecture, like experience, is conceived and understood in a variety of different ways, ranging from design and construction to biology, culture, technology, and physics (Buchli, 2013; Mallgrave, 2010; Pallasmaa, 2005; Rovelli, 2015). There is also significant literature exploring the relationship between architecture and tourism (Graburn, Gravari-Barbas & Staszak, 2019; McLaren, 2006; Morosan & Fesenmaier, 2007; Palmer, 2018; Scerri, Edwards & Foley, 2019). For the purpose of this section, the discussion focuses on architecture both in relation to the built environment and the architecture of technology as these two illustrate Lefebvre’s representations of space; space that is conceived and created by professionals and technical experts. Cruise ships as architectures of the sea are feats of engineering and innovation in terms of their mechanical workings and spatial design (Quartermaine, 1996; Quartermaine & Peter, 2006). As

bounded vacation spaces ‘out at sea’, cruise ships have been noted for their enclavic characteristics (Jaakson, 2004a; Lester & Weeden, 2004; Weaver, 2005a; Wood, 2000). Indeed, Bennett’s (2016: 51) analysis of cruise ship space utilizes the concept of omnitopia to explore the all-encompassing nature of these holiday environments packaging everything...

...designed to be experienced as a simulated all-encompassing vast interior. As passengers move from place to place, engaging with various sites on the ship, they encounter the spaces as if cocooned in a bubble that causes the exterior natural world of the ocean to appear unthreatening and distant.

According to Lester (2011, 2017) and Noy (2014), the purposefully designed ‘closed’ or cocooned environment of a cruise ship has much in common with the architectural model of the panopticon (Bentham, 1995; Foucault, 1995) that exemplifies how spatial design influences and shapes behaviour. Most often associated with the self-regulating function of prison architecture, when applied to a cruise ship, the concept of the panopticon reveals the ways in which behaviour and, hence, experience is shaped by the notion of ‘looking’ and being ‘looked at’ (Lester, 2017). In this sense, cruise ship architecture creates spaces of containment that insulate the passengers from the land-based world of the everyday. This aligns with Foucault’s (1986) concept of heterotopic space, space that is different or ‘other’ (Wealleans, 2006), although the notion of cruise ships as heterotopic spaces is not without its critics (Rankin & Collins, 2017; Weaver, 2005b). Indeed, Rankin and Collins (2017: 226) prefer the phrase ‘heterotopic assemblages’ to refer to the complex, fluid, and multifaceted spatial dynamics of cruise ships. Nevertheless, as argued in the chapter, heterotopia is a useful framing concept for considering experience as it relates to cruise tourists.

It is clear from the above that unpicking the contemporary cruise experience is far more complex than it perhaps once was, not least because technological innovations have enabled ship designers and architects to radically influence the nature of the cruise experience through the construction of ships that can accommodate in excess of 6,000 passengers. Royal Caribbean International’s (RCI) Oasis-class ships exemplify the scale, scope, and new directions in passenger shipbuilding and the concept of a holiday resort at sea.¹ Designed around a ‘neighbourhood’ concept, *Symphony of the Seas* (228,081 GRT), with 18 decks and a passenger occupancy totalling 6,680 at full capacity, is currently the world’s largest cruise ship.² The sheer physical scale of such vessels creates a visual spectacle when viewed from the dock side or when encountered out at sea. The sensory opulence of the ships is mediated through the aesthetics of

luxury interior design (Wealleans, 2006) that extends to the use of culture as a constituent element of experience. For example, Celebrity Cruises promote their ships as art galleries complete with auctions at sea created by bringing ‘... together teams of world-class architects, interior designers, stylists, and landscape artists to create a showcase of the most inspiring spaces at sea’.³

Architecture in relation to technology such as artificial intelligence, virtual reality (VR), augmented reality, robotics, and so on create a more personalized onboard experience. Technical innovations, such as RCI’s WOWBand wristband⁴ and Princess Cruise’s OceanMedallion pendant,⁵ replace the room key card, moreover, are not only used to access cabins or for onboard purchases; they also hold personalized information, such as food allergies and credit card details. Furthermore, as the app is downloaded onto a passenger’s phone, the device can track and locate other members of their travel group. Through the app, staff know the name of a passenger as s/he approaches and drinks can be pre-ordered for the theatre with staff able to track the location of individuals so that they can deliver what has been ordered.

The availability and affordability of digital technologies have transformed the onboard experience. Celebrity Cruises offer onboard virtual tours of their ships facilitated by digital media, allowing passengers to explore previously difficult to access areas of the ship such as the bridge. Moreover, digital platforms mediate the passenger gaze beyond the physical boundaries of the ship, enabling destinations to be vicariously experienced ahead of arrival to facilitate planning of the onshore experience (see RCI and Venice⁶). The architecture of technology driving the development in virtual shore excursions means that if a cruise passenger chooses to do so, s/he can experience other places and other cultures without leaving the structural confines of the ship. The extent to which cruise passengers of the future may decide to remain onboard is as yet unknown, but doing so will dramatically affect how the cruise tourist experience is conceptualized, experienced, and understood. In terms of onboard VR, RCI provide headsets that deliver a virtual trampolining experience while those of TUI’s *Marella Discovery 2* provide an immersive VR gaming experience.⁷

Although it is not possible to draw attention to all the ways in which the architecture of technology influences experience, these examples illustrate the ways in which technologies are woven into the physical fabric of the onboard cruise experience. On the one hand, technological innovation offers enhanced and novel onboard experiences, customized and personalized

services that highlight the agency of passengers when it comes to deciding the type and nature of the onboard experience. On the other hand, the use of technology can be seen as a means of contriving, managing, and controlling experiences, pointing to the organized nature of these seemingly individualized experiences. That is, passengers are enchanted by technology into believing they are individuals, free to move in and around the cruise ship, when in fact they are inhabiting highly controlled environments designed to encourage passengers to consume and to spend.

While innovations in the spatial design of mega cruise ships have a significant influence on the cruise tourist experience, it is important to acknowledge the mediated nature of this experience, specifically through the pre-cruise and pre-excursion promotional strategies adopted by cruise companies (Lallani, 2017; Lester, 2017) and the construction and organization of onboard spaces of engagement. These spaces fulfil a mediating function that encourages cruise passengers to engage with the activities and entertainment strategies on offer. Participating in onboard activities is not, however, just about taking part or joining in on a practical level; it is also about engaging the physical, emotional, and sensory body of the tourist. As such, it is important to understand the role and influence of the body and bodies in shaping the cruise tourist experience.

The embodied cruise ship experience

The cruise experience is one that is co-constructed through the coming together of people, space, and materiality to create meaningful encounters that shape what it means to be a cruise tourist and to have a cruise tourist experience. As people move about the ship, they encounter other people (both passengers and crew), and they engage in activities and with technology, with the schedules and routines associated with being at sea and with the numerous available spaces from cabins to restaurants, theatres, fitness studios, decks, and swimming pools. These encounters are not merely social in terms of conversations between people; they are physical and emotional performances that co-create the experience of taking a cruise holiday. This experience comes into being through the thinking, feeling body of the tourist – it is an embodied experience. As such, the body is a key constituent of what we referred to earlier as the architecture of experience.

The term 'embodied' and, by association, 'embodiment' refers to the ways in which understanding, social values, behaviour, and experience are shaped by and through the human body (Csordas, 1994; Mauss, 1979). Hence, the body and bodies are moulded by culture, by the values and belief systems of a particular society. So it is through culture and the social context that a body acquires knowledge about how to move in any given situation. For Mauss (1979), the repertoire of culturally conditioned bodily uses and techniques specific to a particular group or society, what he refers to as a *habitus*, produce particular ways of running, swimming, dancing, and digging that enable group members to recognize each other. Such bodily techniques serve to distinguish one group from another, such that squatting societies are distinguishable from sitting societies (Mauss, 1979). Squatting or sitting bodies produce different experiences of the material environments in which they move. So, in terms of cruise tourism, how a body moves around and 'uses' the onboard places and spaces of the ship influences the experience created, an experience structured by the architecture of the ship.

As a social context inhabited by people, a cruise ship can be understood as a specific, albeit temporary, form of society whose members have all acquired the necessary knowledge to enable them to function as members of that society. Bourdieu (1977) is instructive here as he extends the concept of *habitus* to encompass the structures, processes, and practices that construct and internalize body behaviours. Embodied knowledge of how to behave emerges through engagement with the everyday practices of a particular habitus, which, in this instance, is the habitus of a cruise ship. The body of a cruise tourist learns how to dress and how to behave on board the ship and seeks confirmation of what is the correct way to behave by noticing, even if unconsciously, the behaviour and dress of other cruise tourists (Lester, 2017). These codes of behaviour coalesce to form a common sense understanding of what is and what is not acceptable within any given group. Even though not every individual will 'obey' the behavioural codes established, these codes still have a powerful, normative conditioning influence (Schrock & Boyd, 2006). As Palmer (2018: 37) argues, a tourist habitus is associated with and defined in relation to specific activities, practices, and behaviours, which coalesce to form '... an embodied history of how to behave as a tourist reinforced by the reactions of other tourists that this is the correct way of being a tourist'.

In terms of the social context of cruise tourism, individuals learn how to behave as a cruise tourist both before and after arriving on the ship. While onboard the ship, bodies learn how to be

a cruise tourist through safety announcements, signage, schedules, and routines and, before joining the ship, through reading the information and instructions on embarkation and about the expectations of life onboard. In relation to backpacking, O'Regan (2016: 333) notes that, '[e]ven before the journey, the backpacker body is made fit-for-purpose, with vaccinations, travel insurance and first-aid kits incorporated, performed and rendered through the body as embodied expressions of backpacker consciousness'. All forms of tourism teach potential tourists what to expect and how to behave and, in doing so, start to build a picture of the sort of experience that can be expected. A body learns behaviour associated with being a particular type of tourist, how to walk and to sightsee as a tourist (Palmer, 2018), and cruise tourists are no exception. Before setting foot on the ship, bodies are prepared and pre-conditioned on how to be a cruise tourist, not solely through the information provided by the cruise company but also by, for example, past experiences of cruising or visiting online forums such as *Cruise Critic*. Interestingly, *Cruise Critic* includes a link to a discussion thread entitled *Lose Before You Cruise* which provides '[a] place for cruisers to share their stories of how to lose weight before a cruise. Virtual snacks allowed, but only in small quantities' (Cruise Critic, 2020). Such discussion threads can be found on other cruise sites and blogs, such as *Life Well Cruised*, and illustrate the extent to which the cruise tourist experience is constructed in relation to a specific, idealized body image, an idealized image of what a cruise body should look like.

Turning the body of home into the body of away involves imagining the body in different onboard places and spaces engaging in a range of activities and experiences, such as eating, drinking, sunbathing, lounging, exercising, dancing, and promenading. The cruise body of away will encounter other bodies, including those of the cruise staff and those of fellow passengers, so *Lose Before You Cruise* is about creating the right type of cruise body; a body that will be gazed upon by other people, by other bodies. Bodily preparation is also a feature of other types of tourism, as is the existence of a holiday wardrobe distinct from that associated with work and the routines of life at home (Andrews, 2011; Hyde & Olesen, 2011; Jack & Phipps, 2005). However, what to pack, what to wear in relation to each cruising activity and how to interpret the codes associated with descriptions such as casual, formal, and informal dress have a heightened significance when applied to a cruise holiday because of the long-standing traditions associated with ocean cruising (Lester, 2017). Such traditions produce a socially controlled bodily

experience where dressing for a cruise was and still is about the display of cultural capital and understandings of social class.

How a cruise body is dressed directly affects experience. Cruise company advice about what to wear is about removing any anxieties new or returning passengers may have, but this advice also serves to control how people should look in particular spaces and, thereby, the sort of experience delivered. In this way, the architecture of the ship constructs experience in relation to a body that is conditioned and controlled. For example, the website for P&O Cruises includes pages on what to wear that states:

We have a few policies in place to ensure your time on board feels special. Here's a useful guide to what to expect on board in terms of dress codes so you can step out in style... Black Tie nights, offer a chance to get dressed to the nines in glamorous evening wear..... For Evening Casual nights, dress as you would for dinner in a nice restaurant... but no tracksuits, football shirts or trainers.... The dress code during the day is just your typical holiday wardrobe.... Away from the pool, we ask for shoes to be worn and no pool wear in the ship's lounges, inside bars, restaurants or reception. (P&O Cruises, 2020)

The above advice illustrates the social context created by going on a cruise holiday and the type of behaviour expected, reproduced, and internalized as *experience*, behaviour that over time represents the embodied knowledge of the cruise habitus. This embodied history is further influenced by technological innovations that alter the cruise tourist's relationship with and experience of nature, specifically the sea. This relationship takes place in spaces that are specifically designed to trigger an embodied, sensory experience. Indeed, the architecture of technology creates immersive spaces where experience is heightened through the stimulation of the senses. For example, in inside cabins, webcams create virtual balconies or portholes that live stream external footage of sea views in real time. In 2019, RCI installed digital walls into its cabins, and '[t]he effect is completed by piping in the rhythmic sounds of calming waves or gentle rain showers, and having a faux sunrise serve as an alarm clock and the night sky revealed on the concept cabin's ceiling' (Locker, 2017). Other innovations include, for example Disney's magic portholes that combine a sea view with fantasy and movie characters that can be themed as appropriate.⁸

The architecture of technology enables cruise companies to provide a diverse range of sensory experiences, with the result that the creation of a multisensory experience occurs in different ways. RCI have, for example, built a garden of living trees and plants called Central Park on some ships, enabling passengers to enjoy walking through a park accompanied by the

smell and feel of a land-based garden.⁹ Likewise, Celebrity's Solstice Class ships boast The Lawn Club, a lawn of real grass where passengers walk, play games, or listen to live music; usually co-located with restaurants or outside cafés, '[t]here's nothing quite like the feeling of relaxing on the lawn while, in reality, you're miles away from land'.¹⁰ These examples highlight the embodied multisensory nature of experience both generally and specifically in relation to tourism (see Buzova, Cervera-Taule & Sanz-Blas, 2020; Merchant, 2011; Palmer & Andrews, 2020). While engagement with the sea has always been inextricably tied to all forms of maritime transport, the simulated nature of this sensory experience has developed exponentially, driven by the possibilities arising from innovations in technology.

Such innovations neatly illustrate what Gell (1992) has referred to as the technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology. The tourism sector as a whole relies upon the aesthetics of enchantment, the techniques of construction and interior design to attract tourists and to create meaningful experiences (Palmer, 2018). The opulence and aesthetic appeal of cruise ships as spaces to inhabit, even if temporarily, creates a discourse of enchantment (see Bennett, 2001). In this sense, the cruise tourist experience is an enchanted embodied experience, imagined and co-constructed in relation to the structural and technological architecture of the cruise ship. However, ever larger ships and the expansion of the range and scale of onboard activities can lead to diminishing connections with the sea, which, when coupled with operational challenges such as crowding, queues at check-in, embarkation/debarkation and catering services, entertainment schedules, and shore excursions, can result in experiences quickly becoming disenchanting experiences (Chin, 2008; Kwortnik, 2008). The behaviour of other passengers can also cause disenchantment when an out-of-place aesthetic disturbs a cruiser's expectation of a safe and relaxing space, as Rankin and Collins' analysis of cruise blogs illustrates,

...I bought a coffee at the Explorers Cafe and then sat down The Crows Nest was very crowded and I noticed a number of people making faces about the ... very loud RAP MUSIC. I went to the bartender and asked ... him to notice that the room was full of primarily old people, doing puzzles and reading books. Did he really think that they were interested in hearing RAP!

(cited in Rankin & Collins, 2017: 235–6, emphasis in original)

Cruise tourists encounter the social spaces of the cruise ship and draw upon a shared repertoire of learned behaviours to co-construct an individual and collective experience of being on a cruise holiday. A traditional part of this social world is promenading, or walking around the deck and experiencing the movement, sounds, smells, and feel of the sea in relation to the structural solidness of the ships architecture. However, innovations in ship design and technology have significantly altered the cruise tourist experience as imagined and understood in relation to promenading and moving around the ship. Promenading has much in common with what Symonds, Brown, and Lo Iacono (2017) and others have referred to as wayfinding, a way of moving and locating the self that engages the whole physical and sensate body (see Ingold, 2000; Vannini, 2016). Technology has remodelled passenger relationships with the sea by changing the nature of promenading, changing how the inside and the outside of the ship is experienced.

Most large ships no longer have accessible decks that allow passengers to circumnavigate the ship uninterrupted. Technology has also changed the way cruisers move around and find their way onboard. For example, companies such as MSC Cruises use geo-location apps that operate in a similar way to the Google maps navigation feature. Passengers can be directed around the ship and even locate their companions via their smart devices, thereby creating an onboard experience almost totally devoid of risk in relation to anxieties about losing one's way. This illustrates how the architecture of technology creates an experience by training, regulating, and insulating the body of the passenger from the very environment that makes a cruise holiday distinctive, namely, the sea outside and the material characteristics of maritime transport. Furthermore, the spatial layout of a ship influences how time is organized and experienced through the demarcation of spaces as cabins, recreation or dining areas, entertainment spaces, viewing platforms, and so on. Itineraries and schedules move bodies from one activity to another and this movement is also controlled and directed largely, although not exclusively, by technology, the previously mentioned RCI's WOW wristband being one example. In common with other forms of tourism, the cruise ship experience is based upon a different understanding of and relationship with time. This experience is assisted by the lack of clocks onboard, although a clock can be found at the purser's desk. The following cruiser blog entry illustrates the disorientating effect of 'invisible' time:

NO CLOCK – we used to be able to get the time from the web cam channel on the TV but that does not happen now. You have no idea of the time especially (for the 1st time) being in an inside cabin, ALONG WITH REGULARLY CROSSING DIFFERENT TIME ZONES. No we don't wear watches.

(Cited in Rankin & Collins, 2017: 234, emphasis in original)

Clearly, passengers can access 'the time' via their mobile devices and through the television in their cabin. However, such access is purposeful, meaning that it is possible for awareness of 'the time' to be avoided, overlooked, or even forgotten. Cruise ship time can be disorientating as ships frequently pass through different time zones and many passengers may only become aware of the change once they arrive in port. Changes in time zones affect onboard schedules, such as meal times, and although such changes are communicated through onboard announcements, these can go unnoticed unless a passenger is actively seeking out 'the time'. Consequently, meals may be taken later than expected or missed all together. Conversely food can be an essential activity for ordering the sense of time: '...time on the cruise ships is no longer ordered by hours and minutes, but by the practice of smelling, feeling and tasting food, which works to knit together an "other" kind of time and place' (Rankin & Collins, 2017: 235). In this sense, the sensory aesthetic of food serves to locate the body of the cruise tourist in both time and space. The above illustrates that the daily rhythms of away are different to the rhythms of home; the body-clock routines of home are rearranged in relation to the schedules and structures of the ship and of being at sea. Many cruise lines continue the tradition of ringing the ships' bell both at noon as a marker of time and, in particular, at the time when daily announcements are made by the Captain. The noon bell not only marks time but also reminds passengers that they are experiencing cruise time, time organized in relation to being at sea rather than being on land. Cruise time has different rhythms that are dictated by the ocean and by the commercial imperatives of cruise lines. As Stein (2012: 342) demonstrates through research into vacation time as a form of social control, '[t]he experience onboard a cruise ship illustrates how much of the vacation is oriented towards meeting an idealized experience that eliminates or alters the schedules and temporal constraints of everyday life'. She concludes that '[t]he ways in which individuals experience the passage of time can be manipulated by social ecologies' (Stein, 2012: 351). Architecture is the controlling social ecology of a cruise ship, whether in terms of structural design aesthetics or through the architecture of technology. This controlling hand of

architecture constructs a cruise tourist experience based on being part of a floating onboard community.

Experience of and through the onboard community

As already argued, a cruise ship can be understood as a specific, albeit temporary, form of society, and this society is experienced as a community often perceived as a collective of likeminded individuals. This community comprises both passengers and crew who collectively co-construct the onboard experience. The spaces, schedules, and activities provide opportunities for solo passengers and passengers travelling in different-sized groups to come together and create a shared social experience. However, the sense of belonging traditionally associated with being a member of a community has been transformed by advancements in cruise ship design and engineering; the sense of being part of an onboard community is still created, but it is a different experience to that associated with the smaller-sized vessels of 10–20 years ago. The emergence of mega vessels and the resulting growth in passenger numbers has transformed the social experience of being at sea. Although there remain many opportunities for people to come together, the ability to remain anonymous in the sense of being able to avoid other passengers is facilitated by the size and complexity of contemporary cruise ship design. For example, the number of restaurants was once limited by the size of the ship so that passengers had to share tables and engage in a shared social experience, often with the same people every night. Nowadays, however, it is possible on many ships for two people to dine alone every time, including sitting at tables when watching shows in the entertainment spaces. This results in an experience based upon the ability to create relative anonymity within the wider cruise ship community. Clearly, not every passenger seeks out such an experience and in fact most passengers fully engage with other people, while there are some activities that all passengers are required to engage with, such as safety drills and (dis)embarkation processes. However, contemporary cruise ships do enable a more individualized experience and, thereby, provide greater opportunities for some passengers to opt in or out of the wider onboard community created by the way in which the ship is designed and built. The contemporary cruise tourist experience is, thus, one where being part of a community of like-minded people is more fluid and open than perhaps it once was. This is the cruise community as heterotopia.

As previously mentioned, the concept of heterotopia, or ‘other place’, was conceived by Foucault (1986) as being real sites or spaces that actually exist. This is in contrast to utopias, which are idealized spaces or societies formed in the imagination and, hence, do not exist and are unreal. Heterotopic spaces exist alongside but outside the ordinary spaces of daily life. They are outside in the sense that they are isolated or set apart from the everyday, with controls put in place to regulate who is allowed to enter and leave. These controls may be economic, affecting an individual’s ability to pay for access, or based upon meeting specified legal requirements and, as such, heterotopias influence social behaviour and relationships. Foucault’s examples of such spaces include the cemetery, prisons, brothels, festivals, and transportation such as boats. These spaces illustrate an important feature of heterotopias; that is, their association with different experiences of time. Everyday time is disrupted or altered when, for example, watching a film in a cinema, travelling on a ship or visiting a theme park (Bruchansky, 2010; Ivakhiv, 2011; Lester 2011; Weaver, 2005b).

Boats and ships are located outside daily life because they are transient, mobile, and physically isolated from the onshore spaces where life is actually lived while reflecting back on or representing aspects of the ‘real world’. Characteristics such as these explain why Foucault (1986: 27, emphasis in original) described the ship as ‘...the heterotopia *par excellence*. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up...’. This association of boats with dreaming highlights an important identifying feature of heterotopias. For Foucault, heterotopias are sites of the imagination, sites of illusion that are experientially detached from the spaces of daily life and, as such, they are experienced differently. They may reflect or, as Foucault refers to it, mirror sites of everyday life, but they create different, idealized experiences. So it is no surprise that cruise ships have been described as ‘floating utopias’ (Berger, 2004), ‘hedonistic floating pleasure palaces’ (Jaakson, 2004b) and ‘imagined worlds of excess, indulgence and escape’ (Lester, 2011).

Within a heterotopia, such as a ship, an idealized view of society can be found, one where the routines, obligations, and constraints of life at home are represented, contested, and reversed. Low’s (2008) discussion of the American gated community as heterotopia is instructive here, arguing that gated communities are marked by a blurring of public and private boundaries because they permit collective private ownership of what is in effect public space. According to Low, gated communities illustrate the social construction of a new type of space specifically

designed to create safe havens as a sanctuary from the challenges of society. However, these safe havens are only available for those who can afford them. In gated communities,

residents experience a sense of community, through the imposition of the external barrier and economic restrictions on who can enter. This heterotopian characteristic is magnified in the gated community because of the walls and gates, but also by the internal processes of control that residents are willing to 'put up with' in order to maintain the sense of oneness and safety at home.

(Low, 2008: 159)

Cruise tourism operates in much the same way by providing a home away from home where the challenges and constraints of daily life are suspended and exchanged for experiences marked by freedom, freedom from responsibility and from the realities of everyday life, such as fear of crime and hardship. While much the same can be argued for other types of tourism, for example all-inclusive holidays, the difference with cruise tourism is that the sense of freedom it creates is markedly different and, arguably, more significant. This is because a ship at sea isolates and cocoons passengers from the challenges of daily life to a greater extent than the land-based bubble of an all-inclusive resort. Nevertheless, the sense of freedom associated with being on a cruise is to an extent a mirage since negative events do occur; people fall overboard and instances of crime, including sexual assault, are more frequent than the images of escape and freedom associated with cruise tourism might suggest (Klein & Poulston, 2011; Panko & Henthorne, 2019). A mirage of freedom exists because a cruise ship is actually a highly secure environment where passengers are protected by strategies they may not necessarily be aware of, such as the installation of discrete security devices such as CCTV. The mirage of freedom emphasizes the discourse of enchantment associated with cruise ship space, a discourse reinforced by the distance that exists between the ship, the land, and the organized routines and obligations associated with home.

Being onboard a cruise ship involves being physically separated from the land with both the ship and the sea acting as protective barriers that limit who can belong by keeping out individuals who do not, such as non-cruisers or people unable to afford the cost of a cruise. At the same time, they protect passengers from social harms. Moreover, onboard safety drills are examples of the type of internal control processes that passengers are prepared to put up with to stay physically safe in an environment that is isolated, unfamiliar, and mobile. Attendance at

such drills is compulsory with cruise lines such as Disney relying on state-of-the-art automated systems to ensure guests have checked-in at assembly stations or drill locations. In this manner, a cruise community of interdependent members is created in which each member is aware that their behaviour affects the safety of other passengers. In other words, the safety drill encourages a heterotopian cruise experience based upon being part of a community characterized by an understanding that ‘we are all in this together’ magnified by the protective barriers of the ship and the sea. That said, technology is starting to change the face of such mandatory protocols with RCI’s introduction of e-Muster drills¹¹ whereby passengers can choose to undertake this activity in their own time, thereby avoiding collective activity at sea.

In addition to the passengers and crew, the interdependent cruise ship community also includes the family and friends of the passengers back home. Over the years, innovations in technology have enabled passengers to stay in contact with friends and family far more effectively and cheaply than was previously possible. Although this has been the case with land-based tourism for many years (see Molz, 2012), onboard communication technologies have advanced significantly utilizing satellite technology and the internet. The sense of isolation of being at sea, away from land, and in a closed environment diminishes with the use of social media, the internet, Skype, mobile phones, smart technology, and so on, enabling connections to be maintained with home. As the following post from the *Cruzely* marketing website illustrates:

Part of the fun of going on vacation? These days, it’s letting everyone know that you went on vacation. And there is no better way to let people know you had a blast on your cruise than with Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat and other apps that help you keep in touch back home while you are away.

(Callais, 2018)

With technological advances, ship-to-shore communication has become characterized by the taken-for-granted assumption that contact is instantaneous, even though this may not be the case when factors such as time differences or technological interruptions are taken into account. As a result, for those passengers who choose to stay connected, the onboard cruise tourist experience is one characterized by what Gergen (2004) refers to as ‘absent presence’:

One is physically present but is absorbed by a technologically mediated world of elsewhere. a world of relationships, both active and vicarious, within which domains of meaning are being created or sustained. Increasingly, these domains of alterior meaning insinuate themselves into the world of full presence – the world in which one is otherwise absorbed....

(Gergen, 2004: 227)

For example, through the use of Apple hubs on Celebrity Cruises, friends and family can ‘join’ in with an individual or group cruise experience, helping to co-construct it and being temporarily invited into the onboard community. As Kathy writes in her blog *The Quiet Cruiser*, although Carnival Cruises offer The Hub app, ‘I’ve found that the easiest way for my family and I to communicate is to start a secret Facebook group with only us in it, then buy internet service for a day or two mid-cruise... That way we can all keep in touch with each other...’.¹² On the *Caribbean Princess*, the interdependent cruise ship community comprises a virtual 3D avatar called *Tagalong* connected to Princess’s Ocean Medallion worn around the neck or on the wrist. The primary purpose of the medallion is similar to RCI’s WOWBand referred to earlier, namely, the provision of a digitally enhanced passenger experience. However, the avatars linked to the *Tagalong* Medallions remain within the reach of the passenger as they move around the ship, appearing on deck screens and on passenger mobile devices (Gaudiosi, 2019). As such, membership of a cruise community is not limited to being human, to the extent that the cruise tourist experience of and through community is both corporeal and simulated.

As previously noted, there is no one, single cruise tourist experience. Moreover, in terms of community, some cruisers may extend their experience beyond the end of the holiday as is often the case with repeat cruisers. A post-cruise community is reinforced and perpetuated through the virtual world of social media, enabling both first-time and experienced cruisers to share experiences and to ask for and receive advice. Passengers can engage with websites and networks both during and after a cruise, further maintaining the sense and the experience of being part of a community of like-minded individuals. As Vogel and Oschmann (2012: 12) state ‘[w]ebsites like cruise-addicts. com, cruisemates.com or cruise critic.com would not exist without thousands of cruise passengers willing to invest time and effort into communicating their experiences and keeping each other up to date’. It should also be noted that the experience of community varies dependent on complex factors such as the type of cruise, the cruise line, cruise duration, the itinerary of destinations, and so forth.

Interestingly, some passengers come with an already well-established sense of community and belonging that contributes to a more intense, immersive experience *through* community. Such is the case on themed cruises designed to attract individuals who are part of an existing sub-culture of shared interest, or fandom. Here the cruise appeals to and reinforces existing bonds that continue long after the cruise is over. As Mittermeier (2019) argues in relation to *Star Trek: The Cruise*, a floating extension of the land based *Star Trek* conventions attracting fans of the television series and film franchise:

...the immersivity of the cruise stems less from the actual physical theming of space than from the shared community of fans. Although this is also true for the regular convention experience, the ‘bubble’ of the ship acts as an added catalyst for it and makes the experience uniquely immersive.

(Mittermeier, 2019: 1380–1381)

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted some of the ways in which the cruise tourist experience is co-constructed through embodied, relational encounters between the architecture and materiality of cruise ship space (including the architecture of technology). In so doing, the growth and development of cruise ships as floating holiday/pleasure spaces has been foregrounded, acknowledging the extent to which advancements and innovations in the spatial design of passenger ships have transformed what it means to have an experience at sea, separated from the land. However, and as noted in the introduction, adopting an holistic approach to the term ‘experience’ should not be taken to mean that the cruise tourist experience is collective or homogenous; myriad experiences exist depending upon factors such as cruise type and culture. Furthermore, the ever-evolving complexities of cruise ships as architectural spaces at sea, together with the spatial dynamics resulting from innovations in engineering and technology, will continue to radically transform what and how passengers co-construct, engage with and consume ‘the cruise experience’. Hence, the notion of the cruise experience is context specific with the cruise tourist having greater agency in what defines individual experience(s). To conclude, while it is not possible to provide an all-encompassing exploration of ‘the cruise experience’, this chapter has set out some key themes, thereby offering an alternative and more

nuanced understanding of experience as it relates to cruise tourists. Moreover, these themes are intended to stimulate discussion about the fluid and relational nature of experience rather than provide a point of closure that defines what experience is, or how it should be conceived and understood.

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